

CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN
JAMES MONROE AND TIMOTHY PICK-
ERING, SECRETARY OF STATE.
(Concluded.)

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State,
Philadelphia, July 30, 1797.

SIR,
I HAVE received and attended to your official letter of the 24th, and your private one of the 25th instant, and shall now reply to both.

Permit me to premise that in any discussion which has, or may take place, between us, I have not, nor shall I consider you in any other than your official character, having yet to learn what your pretensions are to confidence as an individual citizen, or the weight which your opinion ought to have, as such, especially in the present case.

I think proper now to observe, that when I called upon you for an explanation of the motives of the administration in making this attack upon me, it was not with a view to derive any information for myself. I have been too long and too well acquainted with the political conduct, principles, and views of the administration, not to know what its motives were in that respect without any aid from you. Indeed, knowing what my own conduct was, and what your views are, of which a series of facts and circumstances leaves no doubt on my mind, I had no expectation of obtaining from you any thing like a candid answer. On the contrary I expected an evasive one, dealing in hints and inuendos, thrown out to divert the mind from the true object of enquiry. Nor have I been disappointed in my expectation — for I am persuaded that no impartial person can read your several letters upon this subject, without entering the same opinion of them.

I expected even a disguise of the real motive, and by every possible artifice which interest or ingenuity could suggest, because I knew the real motive could not be avowed: and such I am persuaded will be the opinion of every impartial person, who after reading your letters, traces the true motive, by a correct analysis of those facts and circumstances to which I allude.

I called upon you in that spirit of candour which I have always observed towards the administration and others, and to give you an opportunity to justify your conduct by your own arguments, and thereby place it in the light you wished it to stand. But this you have refused to do, and for reasons the most extraordinary. In calling upon you then, I have acted consistently with my own principles: and in refusing to comply you have taken a ground for which the administration is responsible.

I forbear to discuss again the solidity of that principle which supposes every public officer of the United States (the judges excepted) a menial servant to the president, a principle which if established, vanishes from the bosom of every such officer all regard for country, every noble and patriotic sentiment; and makes him dependent, not upon the integrity and propriety of his own conduct, but upon the personal favor of his superior. If such were the case, what confidence could the people of America repose in any public functionary, since after he gets into office whatever may have been his character before, he sinks into a machine, and ceases to be a watchful sentinel over the public rights and interests? If such were the case the principles and practice of our free governments are departed from, and the most slavish doctrines of the most slavish governments are introduced in their stead; and that such must be the case is obvious, if the executive can exercise the discretion you speak of in the pleasurable manner you contend for, and without accounting for any of its acts, or the motives of them in any case, to the party injured, the public, or any person whatever. This does direly merit the attention of the people of America, because it is a pernicious one. They have provided in the constitution they have adopted, a suitable mode for the appointment of public officers, and which supposes a due regard to be paid to the characters of those who are appointed, and with a view that they may be faithfully served. They pay to their public officers, President and all liberally, and ought to be faithfully served. They have

likewise provided for, and with a supervision of the superior over the inferior, but I trust it is their intention that the merits and character of the latter should be estimated by the standard of his integrity and public services, and not by the whims, caprice or any less worthy motive of those above him.

Nor shall I discuss the solidity of the principle, or the policy of the practice, you have adopted, of opening a door in your office for the reception of spies and informers, to whose communications, it appears, implicit faith is given, although their names, their characters and even the port of their denunciations be withheld. This practice is of great antiquity, and is now in use in the despotic governments of Europe, but I hoped never to see it transplanted to this side of the Atlantic, especially in the degree to which you extend it. I dismiss these topics from view, because they are only incidental to the main object of enquiry, and involve principles, in which I am not interested, otherwise than in common with every other American citizen. I have noticed them however, that their tendency may be correctly understood.

But I think proper to make a few comments upon the hints and inuendos contained in your letter of the 24th, and with a view to place them and your conduct in making them in their true light.

You suggest many cases which, provided they existed, you say would justify the executive in the removal and censure of a public minister or other officer; such for example, as a "defect of judgment, skill, or diligence; the want of confidence in him by the administration; his holding improper correspondences with men known to be hostile to the government, his representations, and whose actions tend to its subversion; his countenancing and inventing from a mistaken view of their interest of his own country, a conduct in another derogatory from and injurious to those interests, &c." The existence of any of these cases may say would justify the removal of any public minister.

It is not my intention to contest with you abstract principles, because I will readily admit that if a public officer be incompetent to the duties of his office, whether it proceed from want of judgment, skill or diligence; if he be the tool or partisan of another country against the honor and interest of his own: or be associated with foreigners of any description whatever, or with the agents or creatures of foreign powers, in promoting any plan of conspiracy against, insurrection in, or disorganization of his own country, that in any and every such case, such officer; whether he be employed at home or abroad, ought to be dismissed and disgraced, or rather severely punished; for disgrace upon those who are capable such enormities, is not punishment at all. But do you mean to apply any of these imputations to me? If so, why not avow it, and present your proof? would not be more manly so to do, than to deal in inuendo and insinuation, which without making you responsible for any charge, are perhaps intended to be understood as such? Or do you hope that we shall take these inuendos for facts, without your declaring them to be so, or producing any testimony to support them? This might perhaps promote your views in the present case, but would certainly not promote the cause of truth.

With respect to the clamour which is so incessantly raised (and of which you seem disposed to avail yourself in the present instance) of danger to the government from the exercise of freedom of opinion, in debate and writing, or of your insinuation that I had improper correspondence with any such persons, it is one which merits no reply. I have no correspondent in whom I repose confidence, who has not given at least as strong proof of his attachment to good government and good order, and who is not as much interested (perhaps much more so) in the preservation of those blessings as yourself, or any of those who make that loud clamour on that subject. Nor have I had a communication with any person or persons whilst employed abroad, or at any other time, of a public nature, but with a view to preserve the government and the union entire; always seeking to counteract the disuniting disorganizing projects of those who secretly wished to subvert them. Do you know of any corre-

pondence of mine exhibiting an opposite character, or having an opposite tendency? If you do, produce it and then we will discuss this point further. But till then I shall consider this inuendo like the others, as being thrown out only to obscure the subject and divert the mind from the true object of inquiry.

And upon the point of confidence between the administration and myself, with respect to the period of its commencement and termination, on both sides, (it, indeed, it ever existed on theirs in the view in which I believed it did) with the cause which created and destroyed it, I shall say but little at present, because it is a very important one, and requires to be more fully illustrated than the nature of this communication will admit. This point involves in it the whole policy of the administration, in my mission and recall, and will, I think, when fully understood, tend essentially to illustrate the conduct, principles & views of the administration during this great & interesting crisis of human affairs. I think proper however, to observe here that whatever may be the opinion of the world, as to the merits of the administration, in these respects, or of its conduct towards me, through the whole of my mission, I can swear, in the most satisfactory manner, that my political character & principles, whilst minister plenipotentiary of the United States with the French Republic, were always the same, and that in both stations, and through every circumstance of our affairs, it was the constant and laborious effort of my life, to preserve peace, harmony and perfect amity between the two republics. I can swear, too, that those efforts had produced, and were still producing, a good effect, of which the administration had full knowledge, at the very moment when it endeavored to impress the public with a belief that I had failed to do my duty. The administration may, perhaps, find it hereafter expedient to explain, why I was invited to accept this mission to the French republic. I was a member of the Senate of the United States, and had acted with such decision upon all topics which came before that body, as to leave no doubt with any one what my political principles were. Was there any particular object in view, depending any where, at the former period, and which my appointment to the French republic might then promote? and did the accomplishment of that object produce a change in the policy of the administration towards that republic, and of what nature was that object? I suggest these ideas incidentally only and without meaning to go fully into them.

So much I have thought proper to say in reply to the hints and inuendos contained in your letter of the 24th, and which I presume will fully explain your motives in making them. I will now proceed to another point, of more importance in the present enquiry.

The change in the political situation of the United States is too obvious and interesting not to attract the attention and excite the sensibility of even those who are the least observant. A few years past, the name of America was a venerable name in the catalogue of nations. It commanded the respect and drew the sympathetic attention of all powers and of all men. Her commerce and her agriculture flourished hand in hand, and her people were happy. Beloved by her ancient friends and dreaded by her ancient foes, there was no cloud in the political horizon to darken her prospects. A coalition of tyrants, it is true, whose avowed object it was to extirpate liberty from the face of the globe, excited uneasiness for awhile; soon, however, the strong and potent arm of republicanism crushed its efforts and averted the storm. But what a reverie has now taken place, and where will the catastrophe end? Our national character has not only already greatly declined, and our commerce and agriculture greatly suffered, but we are upon the point of being involved in a war with our ancient and deserving ally, now become a republic after our example, and on the side of the remnants of that

same coalition which was lately armed against the liberties of the world. Strange and almost incredible event indeed! By what means has this change been produced? Much has been said and done by the administration, not simply to exculpate itself from all blame in that respect, but to exonerate others, and when called upon to state and substantiate its charge, what has been the result? let your letters shew.

It is now time to close this subject, and to bring into view an important question, which must be decided on. Has the administration performed its duty to its country in these great concerns, & acquitted itself to the public as it ought to have done? in my judgment it has not. Might we not have avoided this crisis by other and obvious measures, more consistent with our national honour & interest, and without exposing ourselves to any real danger whatever? In my judgment we might. In this latter view the subject acquires new importance and is entitled to more particular attention.

You will readily perceive that our fellow citizens in general are deeply interested in the several points of discussion between us, to whom it likewise belongs to eliminate yours and my conduct; and I now think proper to inform you, that it is my intention to carry the subject before that enlightened and impartial tribunal, with all the lights which I possess.

I am, sir, with due respect, &c.

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.

July 31, 1797.

Mr. Monroe requests Col. Pickering to inform his colleagues that the evident impropriety of his having any communication otherwise than with the administration itself upon an act for which he holds the administration responsible, precludes his receiving from them, as individual citizens, any information whatever respecting the motives which governed them in the case referred to. He declines this, with the greater pleasure, because the course he finds it necessary to adopt for the examination and development of this subject generally, offers to those gentlemen, as individual citizens, an opportunity to communicate the motives of their conduct in that case to the community at large, thro' which channel only can he attend to them.

MUTINY IN THE BRITISH FLEET.
SHEERNESS, June 4.

This place continues in the same awful uncertainty it has been in for some days past. I have not learned that any correspondence between the fleet and garrison has taken place this day. Every preparation for defence has been made, and the town is at present filled with troops. The road to Sheerness is patrolled by parties of horse, and every carriage searched. About an hour ago a flag of truce arrived at the pier with the captain of the Montague. Whether he was forced or requested to leave the fleet, I know not. The navigation of the Thames is wholly obstructed; and within this hour I have heard at least 100 rounds of shot, for the purpose of bringing vessels to.

The sailors declare their determination not to be starved out, and they have accordingly landed and carried off some sheep from the Isle of Grain, in consequence of which a force has been sent there. The red flag is hoisted in the whole fleet of nearly thirty ships. Heaven alone knows what will be the result of this business; but it is evident that for things to remain in this doubtful state many days longer, is impossible.

Last night they seized on a hoy laden with three hundred facks of flour, & another laden with wheat for London, both of which cargoes they divided among the ships, and liberated the captains and crews with the vessels. The captains are now with the port-admiral, giving evidence as to the facts.

TAKEN out of the possession of George, a negro man belonging to widow Macpherson, (late the property of Richard Masterson,) a coat made of mixed broad-cloth, the coat has been but little worn, and supposed to be stolen, as George is a notorious villain: the owner may get it by applying to the subscriber in Woodford county, proving his property and paying charges,

RICHARD CAVE.

August 24 1797.

LEXINGTON:

Saturday, August 26.

Our latest accounts from London are to June 13th.—By them we learn that the mutiny on board the fleets at Suez and the Nore are far from being quelled—that the delegates sent on shore to the Admiral a declaration, stating their intention of blocking up the river Thames, they gave as their reason for this, that as the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, they were determined to have their grievances settled, and would bring things to an extremity at once,—after which the Standard, Inspector, Brilliant & Swan got under way, and moored at equal distances across the mouth of the Thames, soon after, several vessels standing down the river, were obliged to come to, and anchor, near the ships of the mutinies.

Extract of a letter to the editor, dated Hamilton district, State of Tennessee, August 13, 1797.

We are in a confused state.—The commissioners are ascertaining the boundary line between this State and the Indians—there is not less than 5000 souls that will fall into the Indian lands, and must move off shortly. I have my doubts that there will be difficulty, as the people are very obstinate. The 4th Regiment is at Knoxville, and in case those people refuse to move off, they will march in the course of a few weeks against them!

LEXINGTON LODGE LOTTERY,
AND
CHANCES OF INSURANCE.

33d and last day's drawing.—August 19.

PRIZES.

Of 100 dollars, (lott drawn ticket,) No. 80.
Of 50 dollars, No. 1838.
Of 22 dollars, No. 2473.
Of 15 dollars, No. 37 324 398 663 727 808
1690 2370.
Of 10 dollars, No. 359 761 878 237 2822.
Of 6 dollars, No. 315 346 420 666 937 939
946 1058 1418 2294 2359 2578 2697.
BLANKS.

No. 55 64 97 98 119 129 132 201 212 234
213 259 263 266 277 283 310 331 341
501 574 610 623 637 701 757 794 818 827
876 973 911 937 958 973 982 1028 1124
1199 1218 1318 1341 1411 1431 1432 1433
1442 1520 1516 1518 1649 1648 1651
1781 1871 1883 2027 22 9 2216
2256 2404 2 6 8233 2323 2349 2472
2478 4192 2492 2491 2106 2497 251 2532
2333 2849 2852 2856 2856
2095 2849 2852 2856 2856

NOTICE, is hereby given, that I shall attend, for the purpose of receiving entries at Carriages, at Inn at B. Brent's Tavern, in Lexington, the 25th of September next, and at Clarke courthouse on the 26th.

T. STHRESHLY, C. R.

August 22.

TO BE SOLD,

At the plantation of the subscriber, living at Nolin, on Wednesday, the 16th day of November, 1000 acres (part thereof,) of land, a pre-emption right, lying on Gitt's creek, Shelby county.

Also 600 acres lying between Bullskin and Floyd's fork, county aforesaid. Special deeds will be made and no other. Also sundry other

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Notice,
THAT whereas John Hickman the 25th day of April 1780, made an entry of 2000 acres in Kentucky by virtue of a warrant for Military services performed by him in the late war, lying on the head of Little Kentucky, and Bartletts folly a branch of Drennen Creek, running on the north side to include the head branches of both creeks, and the county court of Shelby at their July Term, appointed certain commissioners to ascertain and prove the special calls in said entry under the act of assembly in that case made & provided; this is therefore to notify all persons concerned that I will attend with said commissioners on the said entry, on Tuesday the 12th day of September next in order to take the depositions of witnesses to ascertain the special calls in said entry and to do whatever else the said commissioners shall deem necessary to perpetuate the said claim and agreeable to the said act of assembly.

CHARLES LYNCH for
JOHN HICKMAN

August 18, 1797.

TAKEN up by the subscriber in Mercer county, near Todd's Ferry, a bay mare 14 hands high, eleven years old, had on a small bell, no brand, appraised to \$1.

BENJAMIN NEWTON

JAMES ASHCRAFT.

WANTED,
A Quantity of Good Whiskey,
For which CASH and MERCHANDISE will
be given.—Enquire of the Printer hereof.

May 6,

WANTED,

A Quantity of Good Whiskey,

For which CASH and MERCHANDISE will

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NOTICE.

ON the 7th day of October next, I will attest an entry of 5000 acres, in the name of James Larue, the 20th of February 1783, lying on both sides of Salt river, adjoining Sarah Boone's entry of 1000 acres, on the lower side, running down on both sides for quantity, & then & there to take on oath the depositions of sundry witnesses to ascertain the special calls of said entry, and perpetuate the testimony thereof, and do such other acts and things, in the premises, as the said commissioners are authorized and required to do by the act of assembly in that case made & provided.

ISAAC LARUE, for
JAMES LARUE.

CASH

Will be given for any quantity of
Good Clean Hops,

By A. HOLMES.

Lexington, August 23.

FOR SALE FOR CASH,
A Likely Young Negro Fellow.

Enquire of the Printer.

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RAN AWAY from the subscriber, in Fayette county, near Bryan's station, a negro man, by the name of JOHN, thirty years old, about five feet ten inches high, had on when he went away a pair of hemp trowsers, & hemp tow絮, had two blue coats, one a short coat, coarse cloth, the other a long coat, fine cloth, some of her clothing, a remarkable black negro, who would look. Whoever takes up said negro, and brings him to me, shall have FIFTEEN DOLLARS reward.

LEONARD YOUNG.

August 25.

TAKEN up by the subscriber, living near Todd's Ferry, a dark bay Mare, branded on the near shoulder and buttock thus H, and docked with a long dock, some saddle spots, and marked with some white hairs on her neck, tail, and in her tail, about four feet six inches high, nine or ten years old, truly naturally, appraised to 121.

BENJAMIN NEWTON.

April 12, 1797.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

ON Saturday the 28th of October next (or

the next fair day, if Saturday should be inlement, Sunday excepted) I shall attend with the commissioners appointed by Mason court, on the fourth day after North fork of Licking, at the mouth of the first creek, now called Mill creek, there to perpetuate testimony to establish the inappropriateness of a tract of land belonging to John Mafferson, whose right to a certain tract of land of 1000 acres, running up said creek, is sold to Adam Jackman, and now claimed by his heirs.

JOHN BAILY, Atta.
for the heirs of
ADAM JACKMAN, Dec.

August 15, 1797.

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